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ABSTRACT

Fronteras 1976 is a bicentennial project, coordinated by two cities that share a common geographic region--San Diego, California, and Tijuana, Mexico. The project, developed from the need for structured binational cooperation in this region, focuses on the quality of life for the next century, especially the mutual opportunities and mutual problems of the two cities. The proceedings of the May 1976 plenary session are contained in this document. "A View of the Border from Mexico" was the theme. The key address discussed the close ties and resulting impact of one country's actions on the other. The former U.S. Under Secretary of Commerce for Border Development then reviewed the economic growth in the border regions of the United States. The economic progress of the border was discussed along with border problems. A sociological paper was presented which challenged the existing definition of the illegal alien situation as a potential self-fulfilling prophecy with adverse consequences. An architect stressed the need for future binational planning efforts in the context of physical problems facing the people of the region. A senior Mexican diplomat who is a specialist on international education concluded the conference by speaking about defining the role of educational exchange in international relations. (Author/ND)

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FRONTERAS 1976
A VIEW OF THE BORDER FROM MEXICO

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA
MAY 7-8, 1976

FRONTERAS 1976
Publication Number Two

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INTRODUCTION

"The international boundary here is a living border, with more community interplay between Tijuana and San Diego than in any other place in the world".

These perceptive words by one of Mexico's foremost historians, Dr. Miguel Leon Portilla, crystallize the concept of Fronteras 1976. San Diego and Tijuana share a common geographic region. The two growing metropolitan areas encompass both mutual opportunities and mutual problems.

The need for structured binational cooperation in this region was expressed during a series of talks held in Washington, D.C. and Sacramento in early 1974. Legislators in both capital cities responded with enthusiasm to the idea of a bicentennial observance centering upon regional border issues. Federal and state bicentennial officials, in turn, saw the proposed Fronteras 1976 project as an important observance of the bicentennial year - especially within its "Horizons '76" theme, which focuses on a community's quality of life for the next century.

Officially recognized as a bicentennial project, Fronteras 1976 rapidly gained momentum. A series of events and meetings led to the May plenary session, the proceedings of which are presented in this publication.

Many persons and organizations contributed to the growth of Fronteras 1976. Prior to approaching officials in Washington, D.C. and Sacramento, a number of San Diegans participated in discussions that led to the idea of regional cooperation with nearby Baja California as the basis for a bicentennial project. After obtaining federal and state encouragement, representatives from the University of California, San Diego and the City of San Diego and interested citizens met informally. As a first step, a joint agreement between the City and UCSD was concluded in October 1974. Other institutions then joined as sponsors of Fronteras. These are the County of San Diego, San Diego State University, University of San Diego, Chicano Federation of San Diego County, and San Diego and Imperial Counties Community Colleges Association.

The Executive Committee of the new Fronteras 1976 obtained federal funding from the California Bicentennial Commission, then interested private foundations and business corporations in providing additional assistance. The organization came into existence in late 1974.

UCSD Chancellor, William D. McElroy, and San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, as

Co-Chairmen of Fronteras, invited Mexican officials from Tijuana and Mexicali to a dinner meeting in early 1975 with members of the Executive Committee and other interested individuals to tell them of Fronteras and its proposed activities. The Mexican representatives offered to participate and expressed great interest in taking a part in such a program.

Fronteras obtained Mexican cooperation for a preliminary regional planning conference held at UCSD in July 1975, a report of which was circulated as Fronteras 1976 Publication No. 1. Other major events have included the celebration of Bilingual-Bicultural Education Week in the spring of 1976; a conference of planners from San Diego and Baja California; and two prestigious art exhibits held at the Fine Arts Gallery and the Museum of Man in Balboa Park. Among the more specialized events was the presentation of two prominent Mexican historians as part of a symposium exploring the independence movements in Mexico and the United States, held at both UCSD and SDSU campuses.

The May 1976 Fronteras plenary session brought to the community outstanding Mexican speakers to develop the theme: "A View of the Border from Mexico."

In a key address at the opening dinner on May 7, Eliseo Mendoza Berrueto spoke of the close ties and resulting impact on one country from actions by its neighbor. The former Under Secretary of Commerce for Border Development then reviewed the economic growth in his nation's border regions.

Discussion of border progress was balanced by examination of border problems. A highlight of this segment was the illuminating paper on the illegal alien dilemma presented by international sociologist Jorge Bustamante. Dr. Bustamante strongly challenged the existing definition of the illegal alien situation as a potential self-fulfilling prophecy with adverse consequences.

A gathering together of the physical and economic strengths, weaknesses and problems was the logical next step in the conference. Architect and planner Fernando Espúlveda Amor provided this synthesis. He stressed the need for future binational planning efforts in the context of physical problems facing the peoples of this singular region.

Other speakers, panelists and participants provided extensive amplifying material throughout the conference.

Senior Mexican diplomat Eduardo Jiménez González, a former Fulbright scholar and specialist on international education, provided a fitting conclusion to the conference in defining the role of educational exchange in international relations.

As Fronteras moves into the latter part of this bicentennial year, other projects are in prospect. One of the highlights will be the Fall Conference planned by the Executive Committee for November 19 and 20. This community event, to be held in Balboa Park, will feature distinguished speakers from both nations and has as its theme: "The International Border in Community Relations - Gateway of Barrier." The November conference will conclude the major part of the Fronteras program planned for 1976.

Lucy L. Killea, *Executive Director, Fronteras 1976*

THIS WAS THE FRIDAY EVENING SESSION

THE PROGRAM

FRIDAY, MAY 7

8:45 PM FIVE PERSPECTIVES ON FRONTERAS 1976

Master of Ceremonies
Gerald L. Warren, *Editor, The San Diego Union*

Guest Speaker
Eliseo Mendoza Berrueto, *recently Under Secretary of Commerce for Mexican border development*

Subject
"The Economic Development of the Mexican Border"

SATURDAY, MAY 8

9:00 to 10:30 AM

Panel -- Discussion Leader
Jorge A. Bustamante, *Sociologist, El Colegio de México*

Subject
"The Silent Invasion Issue"

Commentators
Roger R. Revelle, *Professor of Science and Public Policy, University of California, San Diego*

Lawrence R. Ford, *Professor of Geography, San Diego State University*

Moderator
Ramon E. Ruiz, *Chairman History Department, University of California, San Diego*

10:45 to 12:00 Noon

Panel -- Discussion Leader
Fernando Sepúlveda Amor, *Director of Planning, Environmental Improvement, Mexican Department of Health and Welfare*

Subject
"Planning for the Tijuana-San Diego Region"

Commentators
Donald Appleyard, *Professor, Department of City and Regional Planning, College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley*

James F. Gleason, *Urban Planner, Environmental Quality Division, City of San Diego*

Moderator
James D. Kitchen, *Director of School of Public Administration and Urban Studies, San Diego State University*

12:30 PM LUNCHEON SESSION

Guest Speaker
Eduardo Jiménez González, *Ambassador, diplomat, specialist in international exchange programs*

Subject
"International Education"

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1976
FIVE PERSPECTIVES ON FRONTERAS 1976

William D. McElroy, *Chancellor, University of California, San Diego*

I want to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Mayor of San Diego to welcome all of you to Fronteras 1976. In starting this program, my colleagues and I felt that there was much to be done. Fronteras 1976 was created by a joint agreement of the City of San Diego and the University of California, San Diego. Subsequently, we invited many other friends to join in this important endeavor, with the hope that this would stimulate formal programs in various areas of interest. I will not try to cover the progress that has been made, but only say that there is still much to be done.

Our Master of Ceremonies tonight has made the point very forcefully in an editorial in The San Diego Union. We are fortunate to have a person in this position who is sensitive to the many important issues that face San Diego and Tijuana, Mexico.

Gerald L. Warren, *Editor, The San Diego Union,* Master of Ceremonies

Fronteras 1976, as all of you know, is a San Diego observance of the United States Bicentennial which is aimed at increasing knowledge and understanding of the interdependent relationship between the border regions of San Diego and Mexico. Fronteras bids for greater cooperation and friendship between our Baja California and Alta California communities, an area that - in fifteen years - will have more than five million persons. Fronteras will focus on economic, environmental, cultural and physical resources of the San Diego-Tijuana region and encourage maximum transborder relationships.

"A View of the Border from Mexico" is the theme of the organization's First Plenary Conference, the first of two major events being offered by Fronteras. The second event will be a conference in the late Fall. In addition, many Fronteras-related activities are taking place throughout the Bicentennial year.

Speaking personally, I cannot think of a better observance of the U.S. Bicentennial for San Diego and for Tijuana. It is the spirit embodied by this group that we all see and need so much.

Pete Wilson, *Mayor of San Diego*

Almost every facet of the community is represented - not only this evening but in the total Fronteras 1976 project. Whatever its importance as a celebration of our common heritage, its real importance - as envisioned by those who first conceived it - is that it would provide a mechanism for the resolution of common problems. It would also allow the complete and full exploitation of every opportunity which may confront an international region in which people look at one another across a barrier of culture and laws. Fronteras was designed to find not just the spirit of cooperation but, specifically, the mechanism to achieve it.

Jess Haro, the first Councilman of Mexican ancestry in San Diego, has recently

brought to the attention of state officials a means whereby we could - as a state - cooperate with others in creating a four-state border commission. I think what Fronteras has begun will fit very neatly into the idea of this four-state commission.

Jerry [Warren] commented about my interest in decentralization [in government], and I am happy to hear it echoed on both sides of the border. These two nations are too large and there is too rich a resource at the local level for us not to enjoy - at this level - the full potential of international cooperation.

This evening people are here whose talent and desire for cooperation promise fulfillment of what, for some, has been a dream for twenty years. The former City Manager of San Diego, Kim Moore, who is with us tonight, has been involved with the creation of Fronteras and before that in any number of border projects. There are many here who, years before the coming of Fronteras, have participated with friends and neighbors in Tijuana in charitable or educational exchange programs to bridge the gap created by that imaginary line and by the very real differences in language, in culture and in law. They felt that the promise of the community was so much greater than the differences.

For those of us who have launched Fronteras, this evening marks the threshold of a very exciting fulfillment. I think it is the beginning of something very special, and it is particularly appropriate that we celebrate it on the occasion of America's entry into the third centry of our history as a republic.

The history of this region is far older - a history of Spanish, and then Mexican hospitality, generosity, and courage; something of which we on both sides of the border are very proud. And perhaps in twenty years, when Fronteras or some successor has been institutionalized, many will be able to look back on solid accomplishments that began with this evening.

Although he was with us earlier this evening, my friend, my colleague, and my brother mayor, Fernando Márquez Arce, had to leave because of the press of official business in Tijuana. We have had the opportunity to work together, and he is intelligent and energetic - demonstrating an uncommon concern and love for his city, for which he has provided dynamic leadership. The results achieved in his tenure of office demonstrate this.

I was to have had the pleasure of introducing the Mayor of Tijuana this evening, but instead he asked that I convey to you his sincere regret that he could not stay longer. We are very pleased and honored that he has left in his stead, to bring us a brief message, his distinguished Assistant for Public Affairs, Sr. Luis Carlos Ibarra.

I want to thank all who are here this evening, not only for coming, but also for what your presence signifies; for the effort and sacrifice that will show in tomorrow's programs - and for a long time thereafter - as the promise of Fronteras 1976 becomes a reality for two communities. And with that, Luis, I invite you to the platform. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much.

Luis Carlos Ibarra for **Lic. Fernando Márquez Arce,** *Mayor of Tijuana*

In the name of the mayor, Lic. Márquez Arce, I would like to mention two people here tonight, Mayor Wilson and his lovely wife, Betty. Also, I would like to

welcome all of you who are attending a Fronteras meeting for the first time. The Mayor asked me to say that he supports wholeheartedly the program of Fronteras. He feels that it will bring better understanding between San Diego - and other cities to the North - and Tijuana.

We have, as you know, a very grave problem in Tijuana: a population explosion. We believe that at 9.2 percent a year, we have one of the highest rates of growth in the world. Everyone in a position of authority will have to think twice about that, because anything happening south of the border will affect San Diego. And, of course, things happening in San Diego will affect us. The authorities and the people, especially groups like Fronteras on this side, will have to get together to tackle this problem and try very hard to at least partially solve it.

Lic. Márquez Arce is aware that we have problems and in some cases failures in trying to solve them. He wanted it understood that such failures are involuntary; that we are trying to work together with the authorities of San Diego, with whom we are setting a very solid cornerstone. We hope that as present officials leave office their work will be carried on by others in the future.

The Mayor also feels that Fronteras will help us change the image of our city. Those of you who have not seen Tijuana recently will find it changing a great deal. The channelization of the river bed has been largely responsible, and this change will be even more noticeable by the time President Luis Echeverría comes in October to inaugurate all the public works being completed. The Mayor invites you to view the city. It is quite different today from what you may have seen before.

Herbert Ibarra, *Acting Chairman, Fronteras Executive Committee*

The central purpose of Fronteras is to support those vehicles that furnish knowledge and understanding of the border region. With this concept in mind, the Executive Committee offers guidance and encouragement to cooperative activities that bring together members of the communities from both sides of the border.

We want people from both sides to realize that the political barrier must not deter any of us from resolving those problems common to all. Through creative efforts we anticipate that all will share in the benefits that can be realized only through a mutual understanding.

There have been important activities supported by Fronteras: a preliminary planning session that brought together governmental leaders from both sides of the border: this plenary session which brings to us Mexico's concerns: and the Fall plenary session that will focus on the views of our community.

There have been local projects that followed the concept of Fronteras 1976, such as the "Cross and the Sword" exhibit at the Fine Arts Gallery, the "Artes de la Tierra" exhibit at the Museum of Man, and Bilingual Education Week in March. Under the leadership of Gil Guzman from City Schools and Bob Landen from County Schools, Bilingual Week was a tremendous success and will be repeated next year. I wish to present to Gil Guzman an album of that week's activities as a momento of a program that contributed to making both communities more aware of the importance of Bilingual/Bicultural Education. I now would like to express our appreciation to Dr. Lucy Killea, to whom we owe so much for insuring that our plans became a reality.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEXICAN BORDER

by Eliseo Mendoza Berrueto

A former Under Secretary of Commerce for Mexico, he has been concerned--for the past five years--with border development. In addition, from 1971 to 1974 Lic. Mendoza Berrueto was President of the Mexican Interdepartmental Commission for the Economic Development of the Northern Border Area and the Free Zones. He resigned from his post as Under Secretary of Commerce in March 1976 to run successfully for his country's senate. Formerly he served as Director of the Center of Economic and Demographic Studies at El Colegio de México. He has travelled extensively and led the Mexican delegation in numerous trade negotiations.

[*Dr. Brage Golding, President of San Diego State University, introduced Lic. Mendoza Berrueto.*]

Frontier Relationships

President Golding, Chancellor McElroy, Mayor Wilson, Mr. Warren: It is a great honor for me to be invited to this significant event, sponsored by respected city, county, university and intellectual authorities. At this event we should discuss - in the broadest context - the importance of frontier economic relationships; the real situation at the Mexican-American frontier; the points we consider problems; the reciprocal cultural influence between our countries; and, what is most important, discover those areas of mutual cooperation where decisions should be taken in order to improve the economic and social situation of the people living on both sides of the frontier.

In order to understand a situation of mutual concern, we should analyze historical facts which - because they are living experiences - allow us to insist on all those measures that have contributed to better understanding between both peoples and to avoid all those actions producing misunderstanding and frustration.

It is a valuable exercise to compare the actual situation of the border with what we forsee for the future--keeping in mind historical trends--in order to see if tomorrow's picture coincides with our aims and ideals. If it does not, we should recommend those actions that will guide the border development in the right direction to build a new frontier for the future.

In such an analysis, we cannot forget that both sides of the frontier - with all their cultural, economic and social differences - are very closely linked; that any measure or action we take on one side surely shall impact - in one way or another, in the short or long term - the situation on the other side.

We must take into account that Mexico and the United States belong to different

economic worlds: that Mexico belongs to The Third World.

Third World Ideology

As part of The Third World, Mexico shares with the rest of the non-socialist developing countries, not only economic and social features, but also ideology, strategy and policies, which developing countries use as the path to progress and development.

Equal treatment among non-equal countries is not just. Because this is so, Mexico assumes, within the framework of accepted international policy on a new economic order, new attitudes on commerical, financial, technical and capital investment policies.

Four years ago, in the Third United Nations Commission on Trade and Development, President Echeverría launched the idea of a Charter of Economic Duties and Rights of States. The purpose of the Charter is to assure that all members of the international community behave in such a way that the world of the future can offer economic progress and social justice to all countries on the basis of economic autonomy, mutual respect and political sovereignty.

One hundred and twenty countries approved the Charter in the General Assembly of the United Nations. In order to build international peace and to encourage progress of the whole world community, it is necessary that more countries not only approve that Charter but also assume their historical responsibility to put into effect its principles and objectives.

The Program

Now, let me tell you something about the economic development program of the Mexican border.

During this Administration, the Mexican Government has launched - for the first time in history - a comprehensive economic development program aimed at transforming the border activities. It is being carried out for the benefit of 2.3 million inhabitants of the thirty-four municipalities located along the nearly 2,600 kilometer-long Mexican-American frontier. This border population, is increasing at an annual rate of 4 percent. Almost a third were born in other provinces of Mexico. Baja California and Tamaulipas attract the greatest proportion of the migrant force, which comes mostly from the states of San Luis Potosí, Durango and Zacatecas.

The migration to the Mexican border should be explained in a historical context, and with an understanding of fundamental economic and social factors. Most members of the labor force who remained in the border area came with the illusion that they could work in the United States. But, due to lack of opportunities and many other factors with which you are familiar, they remained on the Mexican border. Even those who managed to cross the border, upon finishing their labor contracts, eventually came back to reside on the Mexican side. For these reasons, a large part of the population of the American Southwest was either born in Mexico or is of Mexican ancestry. Out of the toal American *fronterizo* population, about half a million were born in Mexico. In El Paso County, there are 117,000 Mexicans and Chicanos; in Hidalgo County, there are 76,000, and in San Diego, about 70,000.

The population of the Mexican-United States border areas totals 5.1 million. Some 2.6 million of these people live in both Californias, 200,000 belong to the Sonora-Arizona frontier, and 2.3 million to the Chihuahua, Coahuila, Tamaulipas and Arizona-Texas frontier.

Baja California handles 56 percent of the total Mexican border commercial activities, Chihuahua 20 percent, and Tamaulipas 14 percent. As far as border assembly plants - *maquiladoras* - are concerned, Baja California has 169, Chihuahua 85, and Tamaulipas 65.

The above figures show the economic leadership of the states of Baja California and Chihuahua, and the cities of Tijuana and Ciudad Júarez.

In order to strengthen the economic development of the region and to encourage a social development process within a national program of economic development, in May, 1971, the Government of Mexico launched an economic development program for the border with the following purposes: to increase the rate of employment; to settle the Mexican consumer in his own territory; to substitute national products for the increasing volume of imported goods; and, to increase the balance of trade in border transactions in favor in Mexico.

These objectives seem very reasonable because of the high living standards of the population compared to the rest of the country, the high employment rates envisaged, the economic growth of the region resulting from public investment programs, the tourism of the region, the increase in commercial activities, the establishment of assembly plants, and the competitiveness of the northern Mexican states vis-a-vis states of the U.S. - with the exception of California.

To reach the objectives already mentioned, some administrative measures were taken to: facilitate the import of popular consumption goods - *artículos "ganchos,"* as we call them; encourage Mexican entrepreneurs to participate with their products in the frontier market; establish assembly plants with a higher degree of integration; improve the quality of life through a balanced program of municipal infrastructural investments; establish medium and small industries to produce import substitutes to supply local, regional and national markets and to increase export production; promote tourist activities; and to develop new agricultural and livestock activities.

To accomplish these objectives, President Luis Echeverría founded the Interministerial Commission for the Economic Development of the Border Zones, which is in charge of designing these economic and social policies, and establishing adequate mechanisms to implement them.

Achievements

Let me point out briefly some achievements in this program so far. In the commercial sector, $210 million of popular consumer goods were introduced. These goods in turn facilitated an increase in national consumer goods which, at the time promoted the development of local industries.

The frontier program also includes the construction and operation of new trade centers, which offer to national consumers an ample variety of consumer goods plus all kinds of facilities and modern services to make the Mexican trade centers competitive with those located on the other side of the border.

Through subsidies, financial assistance, licenses to import construction items, equipment and consumer goods, the Mexican Government has been an important factor in the construction of twenty-five medium and large such trade centers, with a total investment of $27 million. Five more are now under construction, with an investment of $12 million.

However, if we analyse the commercial balance of the northern Mexican states,

we find a deficit. Imports of these states grew from $631 million in 1971 to $1,819 million in 1975, and exports rose from $437 million to $1,400 million in 1975. Thus the trade deficit in 1975 was $419 million.

But considered altogether, the balance of frontier transactions has been favorable to Mexico and has improved. In 1970 the frontier transactions totaled $1,464 million, and the favorable balance for Mexico was about $294 million. In 1975, the frontier transactions were on the order of $2,512 million, and the favorable balance for Mexico increased to $526 million.

Looking at the situation from another perspective, if we calculate the retention coefficient - that which is a proportion of the balance of transactions in relation to the whole income - it increased from 36.7 percent in 1971 to 38.5 percent in 1975.

The assembly plants, in 1970, consisted of 129 units located in the Mexican border municipalities, with a total investment of $13 million. They employed 18,700 workers and provided exports valued at $81 million. At the end of 1975, the total number of assembly plants had increased to 557, with an investment of $57 million and a total employment of 56,024 workers. In that year, exports - that is, the value added in the assembly process - amounted to $1,147 million.

A year ago, President Luis Echeverría approved a decree by which small and medium industries to be located near the border would be declared "of national interest." Because of that decision, industrialists receive government support for development of new projects.

The diversity in methods being employed to foster development indicates that the northern frontier program has not been based on a rigid scheme of economic regionalism but, rather, corresponds to the infrastructure of the region, to its economic resources and to its particular geographic situation.

Now, five years after the beginning of the program, we may judge the results as very satisfactory within the global strategy of economic development. This is an imaginative strategy that - together with the industriousness and support of the population of the frontier - allows us to be optimistic and to forsee that the economy of the border will be strengthened rapidly to achieve its integration with the economy of the rest of the country.

This optimistic attitude is based on the fact that the relations between Mexico and the United States will continue to rest on the principles of mutual cooperation derived from projects of joint benefit, and a full understanding of the problems encountered by the special conditions of the border.

The route of progress and friendship of our peoples will be marked by mutual respect and the exercise of national sovereignty.

Ladies and gentlemen, any analysis of frontier relationships between Mexico and the United States, and expecially any future policy leading to action, requires a true understanding of the broader political, social and economic background to which I referred at the beginning of my talk.

On the border, two countries, face to face, have decided to work out their destiny. Let us do this in such a way that we may say: two countries, hand in hand, work together in joint efforts to achieve progress and to share prosperity.

Thank you very much.

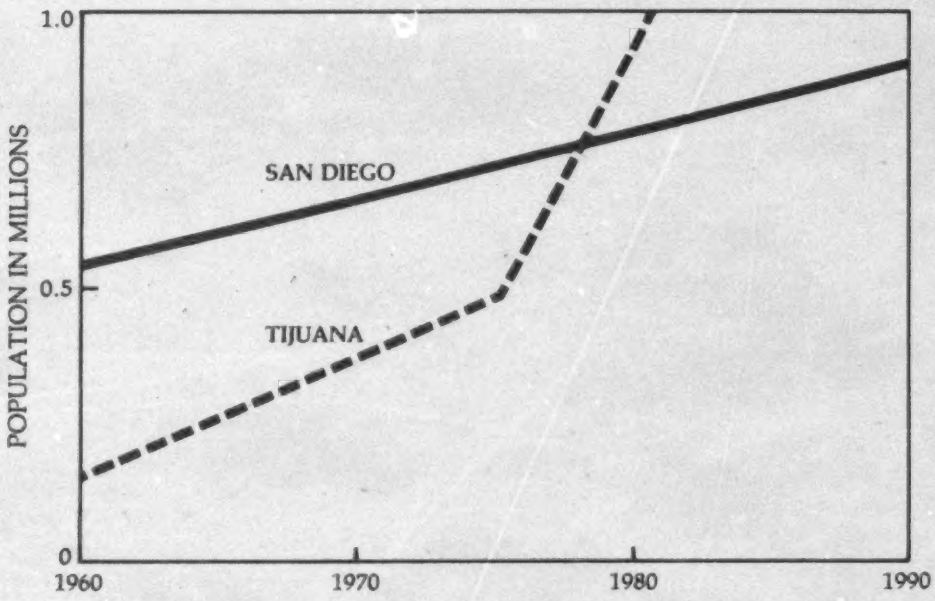
SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1976 – FIRST SESSION

Ramon E. Ruiz, *Chairman, Department of History, University of California, San Diego, Panel Moderator:*

This is the second day of a two-day study conference on our relationship in San Diego with our friends and neighbors on the other side of the border in Tijuana and further south, and to the east to some extent, in the region known as "fronteras" as we have defined it.

This morning, we will be speaking of the relationship between San Diego and Tijuana, in other words, the border issues that all of you know very well. The importance of this topic to all of us who live here is obvious in a thousand ways, in terms of people, certainly, but also in terms of commerce, business, and tourists. It is also a subject that is important today, but most of all in terms of the future, during our lifetime, and when some of us are no longer here.

There are a variety of ways of approaching this opportunity, this challenge to



build something much better for all of us, and I include both Mexicans and people of the United States in the "all of us." One way, of course, is to look at population statistics, which our speaker Mr. Bustamante will discuss with care.

If we look at population statistics for the Republic of Mexico, they run something like this: in 1920, Mexico had about 14 million people; in 1940, twenty years later, Mexico had 19.6 million people. The guess is that Mexico has 56 million people today. In other words, from 1940-1976, something like 35 years, the population has more than doubled. This is highly important to us, because Mexico is not simply a part of Latin America, it is not simply another republic in this great world of ours, but it is our closest neighbor. Anything that takes place in Mexico will eventually take place here, and certainly the effects are felt almost immediately.

I can recall an earlier Tijuana, because I was reared in this area. My father, who was a Mexican citizen until his death recently, used to take us to Tijuana to spend Sundays with friends. I do not think Tijuana had twenty thousand people before the Second World War. In 1976, Tijuana has nearly 700,000 people, and by 1980 Tijuana will have more people than the City of San Diego. And if you put the population of Tijuana in 1980 with the population of San Diego and San Diego County, you will have one of the largest metropolitan centers, international in character, not only in the Western Hemisphere, but in the entire world.

The impact is not simply in terms of population; it is in terms, as I said before, of commerce and business, or tourism that goes both ways. Also, in terms of cultural aspects, I am amazed at the difference that thirty years' absence has made in my own experience. Before World War Two there were two isolated communities. Thirty years later, not only has Tijuana grown into a huge city, but it has become, for better or for worse, highly Americanized. Even in San Diego, the impact of Mexican ways of life is felt. Something called Mexican food, but which really is Mexican-North American food, is served in restaurants that probably outnumber any other kind of restaurant. Not only that, everything else that is Mexican is to some extent to be found here. So we have not only something of a problem, we also have a wonderful challenge, a wonderful opportunity to build here a great and interesting international center. San Diego and southern California are attractive because of the climate, and the ocean with the lovely beaches, but perhaps most important, because of their closeness to Tijuana and to a country that is so different from the United States.

We have a number of important and distinguished participants here this morning. We were to have heard Sr. Francisco Vizcaino Murray, Under Secretary for Environmental Protection in the Mexican government, but he is with the Mexican President on something that is even more important than what we are doing here this morning. However, we are delighted to have someone who was to follow him as our principal speaker, Dr. Jorge Bustamante. We are honored to have such a distinguished speaker and scholar with us. His topic this morning, is "The Silent Invasion Issue," which probably is not very silent at all.

THE SILENT INVASION ISSUE

by Jorge A. Bustamante

A sociologist on the faculty of El Colegio de México and specialist in border problems and populations, Bustamante focuses on the human side of the illegal alien situation. This encompasses the entire migration to the border, family separation etc. He has done field work (including making an illegal crossing with aliens for a book on "wetbacks." He is currently spearheading a socioeconomic study of aliens which is being jointly conducted by El Colegio de México and the University of Notre Dame.

Preliminary Remarks

This paper is an attempt to focus on the impact of what we hear as definitions of the problem of illegal aliens from people who have authority and credibility in the public sphere, and the effects that these statements and definitions have on public opinion. In analyzing the effects, the final point of this paper is that if there is going to be any solution to the problem, this solution will have to focus on the factors on the two sides of the border that create the problem. Unilateral actions cannot solve the problem, which is created by factors in the United States, namely a demand for cheap labor, and factors in Mexico, namely unemployment, conditions of underemployment, and population trends. In order to bring any solution, we have to construct conditions in public opinion that are conducive to rational negotiations. The orientation of this paper is to focus on a critical perspective of the effects from some of the public statements that have been made.

Statement of the Problem

One of the most widely accepted principles in sociology is that if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.[1*] A more vernacular version of this principle is that of "the self-fulfilling prophecy."

These principles, however, do not apply to all "prophecies," nor to all "definitions of the situation." An important factor can change the social consequences of definitions of the situation. This factor is power. We can, therefore, postulate that the self-fulfilling social outcome of a "prophecy" varies directly with the magnitude of power of its proponent.

A case in point is the series of varying definitions produced by high government officials to cover the situation of undocumented immigration to the United States. One such definition, authored by the Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., is as follows:

> *This [undocumented immigration] is completely out of control. It's a national dilemma that threatens to worsen rapidly. We're facing a vast army that's carrying out a silent invasion of the United States.*[2]

This paper discusses some social consequences from definitions of the situation that carry the power of a public office. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the sincerity of high government officials in their public statements. Rather the purpose is to explore the extent to which these statements shape social realities that affect the content of social relationships.

Background

First, a brief introductory note on the situation of undocumented immigrants. During the fiscal year that ended in June 1974 the Immigration and Naturalization Service located 780,991 undocumented immigrants. Ninety-one percent of these

* *Notes follow end of speech*

arrests were Mexican citizens. It should be pointed out that this figure was of arrests, not of different individuals, since one could have been arrested several times in one year.[3] The number of arrests of undocumented immigrants by the INS has been increasing at an approximate rate of 20 to 25 percent a year for the last ten years.[4] The INS has recognized, however, that figures on apprehensions of undocumented immigrants are more a reflection of manpower and funds available to INS than changes in the number of actual undocumented immigrants in the United States.[5] Nevertheless, few people would doubt that the undocumented immigration involves a large number of people. If it is plausible to assume that the undocumented immigration from Mexico results primarily from unemployment in that country and a demand for cheap labor in the United States, one could think that this immigration not only represents a sizable group but also that it is growing in numbers. Even though the demand for cheap labor decreased parallel to the downward trends of employment in the last two years in the U.S., estimates of unemployment in Mexico indicate significant increases; consequently, there is an increase in the weight of this push factor on emigration.

The Power of Statements From Authorities

The number of Mexican undocumented immigrants becomes relevant for the general public to the extent that an association, real or imagined, is established between living and working conditions of citizens and the presence of undocumented immigrants, who are outsiders by definition.

How is the association made and on what basis? First, a source endowed with authority describes the situation:

> *My best guess is that it's [population of undocumented immigrants] on the order of five, six or seven million. But I hasten to point out that the number is growing every day.*[6]

The authority attached to the position of the Commissioner of INS becomes the foundation for the credibility of definitions of the situation for the general public. Two dimensions of this definition appear in the above quotations. One is the magnitude of the situation and the other is the nature of its impact upon the general public. As for the first, Commissioner Chapman further states in February 1975 that there were at least 4 or 5 million and maybe as many as 10 to 12 million undocumented immigrants in the United States at that time.[7] As for the nature of its impact upon the American people, the situation is repeatedly defined as being a national crisis, a threat, a silent invasion.

A further specification is given to the concept of the threat posed by the presence of the undocumented immigrant. General Chapman was quoted as saying in December of 1974:

> *There is in fact, a sort of population migration from Mexico into the United States. If it is posted on a chart, you can see the movement, the wave. It's not just into the Southwestern states, but all up through the Midwest and the Northwest.*[8]

One year later he reportedly said to a crowd in Miami:

> *This is not only an alarming social and economic problem, but one that our service is incapable of dealing with at this time. . . . The population explosion in Latin America is bound to be harmful to the employment picture in Florida.*[9]

In this statement an association is clearly made between immigration and a threat to local working conditions. This association precedes General Chapman's remarks by almost one hundred years. It was made by the nativist groups that harassed German immigrants.[10] History recalls the agitation of the Know Nothing Party and the outbreaks of mob violence against the Irish and the Germans in the early part of the 19th Century.[11] The association between immigration and a threat to working conditions was also made by the team of scholars that produced the famous Dillingham Immigration Commission Report in 1911.[12] In some regions of the United States unions were organized because of that association.

Following is a quote from a charter of one of those organizations in California dating from the beginning of the century:

> *The Caucasian and Asiatic races are unassimilable. Contact between these races must result, under the conditions of industrial life obtaining in North America, in injury to the former, proportioned to the extent to which such contact prevails The preservation of the Caucasian race upon American soil and particularly upon the west shore thereof necessitates the adoption of all possible measures to prevent or minimize the immigration of Asiatics to America.*[13]

Historical evidence has been presented elsewhere[14] on the coincidence of periods of public alarm regarding the impact of immigration on working and living standards, downswings of the economy coupled with high unemployment, and the emergence of restrictive measures against immigration.

In times of high unemployment in the United States, such as the current one, a concern for solid scientific data on the part of those who define officially the immigrants' situation appears inversely related to the degree of threat imputed to the situation. In spite of a general recognition that statistics on apprehensions produced by INS represent events (apprehensions and not different individuals), there is a consistent reference to apprehension figures as if they were numbers of people. For example:

> *Last year, the Immigration Service apprehended nearly 800,000 illegal aliens - equal to more than half the population of the City of Houston. Though this was 10 times the number we apprehended just a decade earlier, it was probably no more than one out of four who enter the country illegally as a student or visitor and then simply found a job and stayed here illegally. That means there were probably 3 million illegal additions to our population and work force last year alone. This situation has been growing out of control for several years, and the number of illegal aliens currently here may be as great as 10 or 12 million.*[15]

Beyond the ideological implications - as previously mentioned - of such a case of persistence,[16] the point here is the sociological implications of a persistence on the part of high government officials in defining the situation "as real."

Credibility at the social level has never been conditioned solely by empirical evidence. Thus, social values become of particular importance when situations defined as real become real in their consequences. For example, when 91 percent total apprehensions of undocumented immigrants (fiscal year of 1974) are Mexican citizens, the social values which let such definitions of the situation on immigration go unchallenged would not appear to be pro-Mexican. When a recent report suggests that the percentage of Mexicans in the total of undocumented immigrants in the

United States might be no more than 60 percent,[17] it may be that the difference between the figure of 91 percent of the total apprehensions and the true proportion of Mexicans in the overall picture of undocumented immigrants is caused by discriminatory social values and discriminatory practices. If this is the case, statements that involve Mexican immigration which are unsupported by empirical evidence are not helping to prevent discrimination from taking place. In fact, the opposite would occur.

The Lesko Study

The case of the Lesko Study is of a particular importance in the sociological context of the self-fulfilling prophecy syndrome.

In a effort to find an objective basis for establishing the size of the undocumented immigration to the United States, as well as its impact upon the economy and society of this country, INS allocated one million dollars to contract research on these questions. Lesko Associates, a consulting firm from Washington D.C., signed contract No. CO-16-75 with the Office of Planning and Evaluation of INS. On October 15, 1975, Lesko Associates submitted a report entitled, "Final Report: Basic Data and Guidance Required to Implement a Major Illegal Alien Study During Fiscal Year 1976."

The findings of this Report consisted of two separate estimates on the size of the undocumented immigrants' population in the United States. The first estimate, which refers to "the size of the Mexican national segment of the total illegal population," (and is presented as "analytically defensible") is 5,200,000. The second estimate, which refers to the total number of illegal aliens in the U.S. during mid-1975, is 8,180,000.

The first estimate is derived from a formula based upon the estimated change in the number of undocumented residents between 1960 and 1970 and a portion of the number of apprehensions during that decade. Or, in other terms, the number of undocumented immigrants from Mexico equals the number in the United States at the beginning of the year, minus those who were caught at some point after entering the U.S., plus those who were caught at some point other than entry, times a constant number.

The second estimate, described as an enlightened professional estimate, was based on a logical process of consensus from professionals in the business of dealing with the illegal alien problem and - more importantly - persons who are not officially connected with INS.

The Delphi method was used, with seven individuals as Delphi panel members. Panelists were asked in three rounds to make estimates of the number of undocumented workers in the United States. The statistical result of the third round was considered by Lesko Associates as "an enlightened, professional estimate" of 8,180,000 undocumented immigrants in mid-1975.

Critics of the Lesko Report

The close coincidence between the estimates of Lesko Associates and the figures so widely used by General Chapman in reference to the size of the undocumented immigration has raised serious questions from at least three sources.

One of these sources is the Director of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Vincent P. Barabba. In response to a personal inquiry from Congressman Herman Badillo, Mr. Barabba replied by letter on December 23, 1975. The first three paragraphs of this letter seem to be particularly relevant to the present discussion.

In further response to your letter of November 12, 1975, we have examined the Lesko Study and analyzed the formula used to estimate the current illegal Mexican alien population of the United States. In our opinion the estimates of the current illegal alien population shown in the study are based on weak and untenable assumptions, and add very little to our knowledge of the size of the illegal alien population.

The overall estimate of 8 million for the illegal alien population residing in the United States, derived by using the Delphi process, should be regarded as conjectural at best. The wide range of the initial set of responses given by the panel of experts, from 2.5 to 25.1 million illegal aliens living in the United States, demonstrates the great uncertainty about the size of the illegal alien population even among those working most closely with the problem. The final range of 4 to 11 million offered by the panel of experts was still quite wide, and it is perhaps not coincidental that this range agrees with the range of estimates that have been most frequently mentioned by various Federal and local officials around the country and reported in the news media.

The formula for estimating Mexican illegal immigration for 1970-1975 in the Lesko report is based on the unsupported assumption that illegal immigration is consistently related to the number of aliens apprehended at points other than at entry and that this ratio has remained at the level estimated for the 1960-1970 decade. The estimating formula, complex as it may appear, can be reduced to a function of the estimated change in the number of illegal residents between 1960 and 1970 and a portion of the number of apprehensions during the decade. In effect, this relationship amounts to saying that Mexican illegal immigration is equal to some multiple of the number of Mexican aliens apprehended at other than entry points. For 1960-1970, this factor was estimated to be 2.1. The same factor was arbitrarily assumed to apply to the 1970-1975 period. Many variables, including increased efficiency of the Immigration Service, can affect the number of apprehensions. These variables may have no effect on illegal immigration or may cause an increase or decrease in illegal immigration.[18]

The relevance of the above points is particularly significant when one sees how consistent they are with two other reports which are critical of the Lesko estimates.

Dr. Charles B. Kelly, associate professor of sociology, Fordham University, presented a paper on January 21, 1976 to the American Immigration and Citizenship Conference entitled "Analysis of Methodology Used for the Lesko Associates Study on Illegal Aliens." Some of his conclusions deal with both the Lesko report's estimates of the total number of illegal aliens in the United States as of mid-1975 (8,180,000) and, the estimated number of Mexican illegal aliens currently in the United States (5,200,000). He notes that in relation to the first estimate:

--It is not clear on what basis the panelists [in Lesko Associates use of the Delphi method] made their estimates. Were they guesses or was any effort made to use any type of data to develop the estimate?

--It is not clear what criteria were used to choose the panelists.

--The final range was between 4 and 11 million. This is quite similar to the 4-12 million by INS sources in the last two years. The range is quite large for six persons [the panelists].

--The Department of Justice release of November 6, 1975 [the Lesko report] suggesting that the 8 million figure was arrived at through a complex formula is misleading since no cross check was made, for example, between the panel estimates and other related available data.

On the estimated number of Mexican illegal aliens mentioned in the Lesko report, Professor Charles Kelley said:

--The estimation of successful entries each year assumes constant efficiency in INS apprehensions of those captured at some time after entry (the X is constant in the formula). Thus, any changes in technique or manpower are assumed to have had no effect in such apprehensions. INS apprehension data is a record of events (apprehensions) not people (those apprehended).

--The estimate of total entries in the Lesko formula puts heavy emphasis on the ratio of those apprehended after entry to those apprehended at entry. Two comments on this are necessary. First, if you assume (that those) apprehended in 72 hours (INS has such data) have negligible impact on the U.S. and so redefine apprehended at entry to apprehended in 72 hours, the Lesko estimates of annual successful entries decrease and total stock for 1975 would be about 600,000 lower. Second, this could lead to the policy decision to emphasize border apprehensions. That may or may not be a good policy decision but should not be made or reinforced on the basis of this formula.

--The mortality factor is indiscriminately applied to all caught some time after entry. The mortality factor is a rate per 1,000 persons per year. We know a large proportion apprehended after entry are apprehended within 72 hours. In 1975, this included some 189 thousand people. This mortality rate assumes 1,172 people died in 3 days. This tends to deflate the estimates.

The third study that has raised serious doubts about the scientific validity of the Lesko report was also requested by Congressman Herman Badillo. It was carried out by researchers of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress: Dennis L. Little, Future Research Group; Daniel Melnich, Government and General Research Division; and Joyce Vialet, Education and Public Welfare Division. This group filed a report of January 23, 1976 entitled, "Critique of the Estimates of the Number of Illegal Aliens in the United States made by Lesko Associates." The conclusions of this report are consistent with the two others cited above. Emphasis of the criticism is placed on: 1) the use of a graduate research paper by Howard Goldberg by the Lesko report and; 2) use of the Delphi method. Goldberg's paper suggests that the Mexicans unaccounted for by both the Mexican and the U.S. Census represent the number of illegal aliens of Mexican birth who came to the United States from 1960 to 1970. The research group of the Congressional Research Service commented on this hypothesis as follows:

In other words, The Bureau of the Census, which collected the information used by Goldberg, finds that it cannot make reasonable estimates which would allow one to say whether the difference between the 1960 and 1970 count of Mexican born persons are really indicative of the true growth of that population. Goldberg's paper assumes that the difference between those missing from the Mexican count and those missing from the U.S. count represent the number who

have illegally immigrated to the U.S. between 1960 and 1970. No evidence for this is presented by Goldberg or Lesko (page CRS-10).

In regard to the use of the Delphi technique to obtain the estimate for the total illegal alien population in the United States, the Congressional Research Service group supports its view by quoting Dr. Jim Bright, President of the Industrial Management Center and former professor of Technology Management, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Texas at Austin, who said on the Delphi technique:

> *Many Delphi results are presented as though they were the work of experts. In fact, they are not. They actually are collections of casual opinions of inexperienced persons, who have no expertise whatsoever on the precise technical economic issues being raised. The technique thus may mesmerize the forecaster and the forecast user into believing that collections of opinions provide valid technological predictions. The stress on achieving consensus is overdone (as quoted in page CRS-31).*

The Lesko Report is Still "The Authority"

In spite of the conclusions of these three studies, Lesko Associates' estimates are still being used by INS officials as the basis for a further definition of the situation in regard to both the Mexican and the total undocumented immigration population.[19] Indeed, the Lesko report was used to validate estimates previously provided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. A study made in the name of science becomes a source of social legitimacy for a *fait acompli*, namely, a previously made definition of the size of illegal immigration to the United States.

The fact that INS continued to use the Lesko study findings after being notified of other studies questioning its scientific validity, could be conceived as a case of what Francis Bacon called "seeking legitimacy by appeal to authority." This is certainly a case for the sociology of knowledge, involving a social construction of reality from a basis of power rather than facts.

In this process several elements and actions appear combined: 1) the magnitude of power corresponding to a Federal official with access to visibility through mass media communications; 2) the degree of legitimate authority attached to actions within the jurisdiction of a given governmental office; 3) definition of a situation as real for the general public; 4) asking a selected group of recipients of the previously made definition of the situation to describe that situation in the absence of other sources of information; 5) attaching the notion of science to the answers of a selected group which were produced in the absence of data other than authority's definition of the situation; 6) achieving social legitimacy for goals born in advance and for definition of a situation as real for the general public.

The goals referred to in the latter point could be inferred from a recent remark reportedly made by President Ford to representatives of a Texas mass media network on April 22, 1976, (according to a United Press International story published in Mexico by the newspaper *El Dia*). The translation from Spanish of the words quoted from President Ford by this source is as follows:

> *The main problem is how to get rid of those 6 to 8 million aliens who are interfering with our economic prosperity.*

There is no doubt that the figure of 6 to 8 million has stuck to the minds of a

great number of people in the United States, including the President. What is important about an apparent consensus on the size of the undocumented immigration is not only its durability despite evidence that the figures lack foundation but also the social effect of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The role of the Lesko report in fulfilling the prophecy should not be underestimated. It provided a touch of legitimacy by appealing to a socially recognizable notion of science. The use of the Delphi technique by Lesko Associates seems from the cited criticisms, like a *rite de passage* of magic connotations, one in which an original definition of the situation was approved by the oracles with the sacred stamp of science. If it had been reported factually, that is that the statistics on apprehensions were numbers of events[20] and not numbers of persons, then it would have been clear that there were no undocumented immigrants. How was it that INS accepted the results derived from the Delphi technique? What in fact this technique involved, in the case of its use by Lesko Associates was: 1) the public is given a judgment on the nature and size of a particular problem (namely undocumented immigration) by a legitimate authority; 2) there are no other data sources available to check that judgment; 3) a selected group of that public who have heard that judgment is asked their education opinion on the size of the problem; 4) that selected group reproduces, in the absence of other information, what they have heard from the news media as an accepted estimate - that is, the original definition of the situation provided by an authority.

Another important factor in the Lesko report which contributes toward fulfilling a prophecy was the use of "a complex formula" to arrive at estimates on the Mexican undocumented immigration. According to the devastating criticisms - particularly those from the detailed analysis of the formula made by Daniel Melnick of the Congressional Research Service - that "complex formula" seems also more like an exorcism than a scientific procedure.

From those criticisms cited above it could be argued that the persistent acceptance of the Lesko findings, however preliminary, is not based on a social framework of knowledge based on science. It is based, probably, on another framework of knowledge. Perhaps magic.

Social Effects From a Self-fulfilling Prophecy

Again, referring to the social effect of a self-fulfilling prophecy, let us note how a generally accepted definition of the undocumented immigration situation affects attitudes and behavior.

The National Socialist White People's Party - during the second week in April 1976 - issued and distributed in the streets of San Diego a leaflet which reads:

> *STOP ILLEGAL ALIENS: every month thousands of illegal aliens pour into San Diego County. TAKING YOUR JOBS! SPENDING YOUR TAX DOLLARS! USING YOUR PUBLIC SERVICES! SENDING THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS BACK INTO MEXICO! IF YOU KNOW WHERE THEY WORK, IT IS YOUR DUTY TO REPORT IT TO THE IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT OR BORDER PATROL. IF YOU WANT TO WORK FOR WHITE AMERICA JOIN US! National Socialist White People's Party. (It was signed and there were swastikas at the bottom of the leaflet, plus the address of the unit in San Diego and the address for the national headquarters in Washington.)*

The point is not how representative this view is among the general public. It is unquestionable that both the U.S. government and the American public at large have demonstrated historically their rejection of nazi ideological premises. The point here is the association made between some of the definitions provided and frequently cited by INS officials: taking your jobs, spending your tax dollars, etc., and an extremist ideology. Certainly INS could not be blamed for this association. But it could be blamed, in my opinion, for insisting on using those definitions in spite of reports that counter them.

Some Myths About Illegal Aliens

A recent study released by the Department of Labor, made under the direction of David North, has reported that - contrary to a general belief - Mexican illegal aliens receive wages that average a little more than $2.00 an hour. It should be pointed out that according to our own research and according to INS statistics on apprehensions, approximately 54% of Mexican aliens apprehended are expelled before they are able to find a job. North's study also finds that the majority of the undocumented immigrants pay taxes. They were also found to be paying social security. However, they were not found to benefit from this payment anywhere near the extent of their contribution.

A study completed under the auspices of the County of San Diego and authored by Vic Villalpando concluded that:

> *Undocumented workers are not flocking to this country to get on welfare. In San Diego, of 9,132 welfare recipients cases evaluated over a seven month period in 1975, 10 undocumented immigrants were determined to be receiving welfare benefits.*
>
> *In a similar investigation of 14,000 cases the County of Los Angeles found that 56 undocumented aliens were receiving welfare benefits, of which 54 were found to be officially eligible for assistance under present regulations.*
>
> *San Diego accounts for 33 percent of the total apprehensions of undocumented immigrants along the entire southwest border, and San Diego accounts for 25 percent of the total apprehensions in the nation.*

The Prophecy Comes True

Further effects on behavior resulting from official definitions of the situation are shown by reports from the Mexican Consulate on the increasing practice of assaults against Mexican undocumented immigrants as they enter the United States surreptitiously by groups of juveniles. According to the Mexican Consulate authorities, a characteristic of these assaults is that the attack is accompanied with racist remarks and insults to Mexico and the Mexicans. The San Diego County study cited above reports along this line the following:

> *Then there are crimes committed against those undocumented immigrants who jump the international border line, by bands or raiders who prey on persons who are defenseless, and who will not talk to report the crime.*
>
> *In 1975, 352 undocumented immigrants were victimized during their attempt to enter San Diego. The crimes committed against them were:: robbery--290; attempted robbery--16; assault--21; rape--5; and 4 homicides.*
>
> *Police authorities in San Diego estimate that this figure represents but 10 percent of the actual crimes, since most undocumented immigrants will not report the attack or complain because of their illegal status in this country.*

Needed: A Binational Approach

This is the kind of social reaction that may be related to what we called, using W.I. Thomas terms, a case in which a definition of the situation as real is becoming real in its consequences.

The phenomenon of the undocumented immigration from Mexico derives basically from two interrelated factors: a demand for cheap labor in the United States and in Mexico, unemployment, underdevelopment, poverty and population trends. In the absence of the factors produced by the two countries, the phenomenon would not exist. This means that no solution will be reached by unilateral measures taken by one of the countries. This also means that whatever measures are taken by one country without taking into account the intervening factors from the other side of the border, will not only maintain the problem unsolved but may worsen it. Thus any realistic solution to the problem can come only from a binational approach to it. And, finally, it means that maintaining the effects of unfounded definitions of the situation will not help to prepare a public atmosphere in which international negotiations could achieve more than mutual accusations.

Thank you very much.

NOTES

1 This principle was first developed by W.J. Thomas in, The Child in America: Behaviour Problems and Programs, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928) p.81

2 L.H. Whittemore, "Can We Stop the Invasion of Illegal Aliens?," South Bend Tribune, February 29, 1976. The author quotes Commissioner Chapman.

3 Julian Samora, Los Mojados: The Wetback Story, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971) p. 87.

4 U.S. House of Representatives, 94th Congress, 1st Session, Report No. 94-506. September 24, 1975, p.4.

5 Op. cit., p. 5.

6 Harvey Ardman, The American Legion Magazine, December 1974, p. 6, quoting General Champan of the INS.

7 U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 94-506, p. 5.

8 Ardman, op. cit., p. 8.

9 New York Times, Sunday, December 21, 1975. p. 27.

10 John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860 - 1925, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers Hall, 1970).

11 Isaac Hourwich, Immigration and Labor,(New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912,) p. 73.

12 U.S. Senate Immigration Commission, Reports of the Immigration Commission (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911.)

13 Op. cit. Vol. 23, p. 170.

14 Jorge A. Bustamante, "Espaldas Mojadas: Materia Prima para la Expansion del Capital Norteamericano", Cuadernos del CES (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1975).

15 Vernon Briggs, "Illegal Migration Turning into a Human Onslaught", Houston Chronicle, Sunday, February 16, 1976. Section 3, p.25. The author is quoting General Leonard F. Chapman, Jr.

16 Jorge A. Bustamante, "Structural and Ideological Conditions of the Mexican Immigration to the United States", American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 19, No.3 (January - February 1976), pp. 364-376.

17 David North and Marion F. Houstoun, "Illegal Aliens: Their Characteristics and Role in the U.S. Labor Market", unpublished, "executive summary" (Washington D.C.: Department of Labor, 1976).

18 Mimeographed copy of a letter from Mr. Vincent P. Barraba to Congressman Badillo of December 23, 1975. It is mentioned in the letter that a copy was sent to Mr. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

19 See an article entitled, "U.S. Job Market Pinched by Alien Trespassers" in U.S. News & World Report, January 26, 1976, p. 84.

20 Julian Samora, Los Mojados: The Wetback Story, appendix two.

COMMENTS FROM THE FIRST PANEL

Roger R. Revelle, *Professor of Science and Public Policy, University of California, San Diego*

Rapidly growing populations and relatively low per capita incomes are not confined to the United States and Mexico, but have been a phenomena of worldwide dimensions since World War II. Perhaps most striking is the immigration of southern Europeans into northern Europe. Turks and Greeks, Portugese and Spaniards, have been migrating into Germany and Switzerland, and Algerians into France. They were welcomed during the periods of rapid economic growth, because they were willing to work for relatively low wages, keeping profits up - and thereby contributing greatly to the remarkable economic growth of western Europe in the last 20-25 years. Since the recession began two or three years ago, there has been a turning against these migrants from southern Europe and many are returning to their own countries. These people were always discriminated against, even though they did jobs that the Germans, the Swiss and the native French were unwilling to do - unpleasant, menial jobs of various kinds.

In general the European countries have not had the same tradition as the United States, that we have always had immigrants - although there has often been political and social opposition to them. As a country of immigrants, we have had the basic premise that such newcomers should be welcomed and assimilated. However, in many cases the first waves of immigrants have had a very hard time. In Boston, they still remember the days when a sign on the door said, "Boy Wanted" or "Workers Wanted" and then it said, "No Irish Need Apply."

Outside of Europe, one can point to many countries where this same phenomenon of migration from a high-population, rapidly-growing, economically poor country to a somewhat better situation is now occurring. For example, in India, there is a constant inflow of immigrants from Bangladesh. The growth of the population of West Bengal, the Indian state next to Bangladesh, is about half due to immigration from Bangladesh and half due to the excess of births over deaths. Chinese immigrants in Indonesia and Malaysia, have been a phenomenon and a problem there for a hundred years, yet the Chinese have contributed to the economic growth of those countries and to their coming into the modern world.

We usually think of the Irish population as nearly static. The fact is that the Irish have the highest birthrate in Europe, and the reason that their population is static is that they continually migrate to Great Britain.

One of the most interesting aspects of this migration phenomenon is what happens to the migrants after they return to their own countries. They have different attitudes towards such things as family size, education and the status of women. They become, in many ways, westernized or modernized.

In the United States, our birthrate is now down to the point where we are not reproducing ourselves, where the average woman does not have the 2.15 children necessary to simply maintain the population at a steady level. Our nation's population is still growing only because it is very young. A lot of people are coming into the childbearing ages. Consequently, our birthrates still exceed our deathrates

because our deathrates are so very low. If there were no immigration, we could look forward to a constant U.S. population within the next 30 or 40 years.

In Mexico, at the present time, the birthrate is about 45 per thousand and the deathrate about 9 per thousand, which means that the population is growing at about 3.5 percent per year. This means that if there were no emigration the population would double between now and 1995. By the year 2000, the population of Mexico - just based on natural increase - would be about 130 million people: somewhat more than half of the population of the United States on a land area about one fourth or one fifth the size, and with a much more difficult situation in regard to natural resources - much of Mexico is mountainous, arid, or tropical. This extremely rapid rate of population growth is being softened by out-migration.

Actually, the dilemma of population is not really having too many people in any one place. It is the problem of rapid population growth. Such growth has two serious consequences. First, there is a very high proportion of young people. In Mexico, almost half the population is under 15 years of age. This means that the adults have to spend a great deal of effort, energy and hard work to simply take care of the children. There is little chance to save for investments which will improve their economic condition.

The second problem is the rapidly growing labor force resulting from rapid population growth. The number of people looking for jobs is almost bound to be greater than the number of new jobs that can be created. Even in Latin America and Africa - which could hold a much larger number of people - rapid rates of population growth are a serious handicap to economic and social development.

Mr. Bustamante did not mention the rapid growth of the Mexican population in the northern strip of Mexican states which is related to the growth of what the economists call "value-added industry." This is industry which involves semifinished goods shipped from the U.S. into Mexico, assembled or worked on there, then shipped back into the United States. "Value-added industry" depends upon cheap labor. What happened in Korea, Taiwan and formerly in Japan, is now happening in Mexico. Wherever there are cheap labor supplies, industrialists from richer countries tend to establish industries which depend upon an inexpensive work force. This, in the long run, is a self-defeating process because, when wages rise as these countries become more prosperous, the advantage of the cheap labor disappears. In other words, the base of the prosperity disappears as incomes rise and people become better off. This is happening now in Puerto Rico, Korea and Taiwan. In the case of Korea and Taiwan, they have been able to develop new industries that depend upon skill, capital equipment and increased productivity, rather than simply the low wages of the workers. And in the long run, I suspect that in Mexico also productivity per person must increase, rather than depending on a large number of low paid wage earners.

Paradoxically, enforcement of the minimum wage laws in the United States might be a more effective method of limiting immigration here than to apprehend the illegal entrants. Enforcement of these laws would give a greater advantage - at least for the next 20 years or so - to Mexican industry south of the border, allowing more jobs there at prevailing Mexican wage rates.

One of the most serious aspects of the migration from Mexico and Latin

America, however, is the competition that Mexican workers provide for our own minority groups - particularly for Blacks and the American Indians. The Blacks in the United States are much better off on the average than the Mexican immigrants but, even so, in the U.S. we now have approximately 40 percent unemployment among young Blacks. We mush take whatever steps are necessary to: 1) reduce this high unemployment, and; 2) reduce the poverty and misery among our own American Indians by raising their conditions of life.

I remember the antagonism toward the Japanese and Chinese who came during the last century and in the early part of the 20th century. We are capable - in the long run - of welcoming, assimilating and being proud of people from other parts of the world. We Americans do not have any God-given right to the United States, we are all a nation of immigrants. Our vast country can hold a lot more people than we have now; what we have to do is to continue, it seems to me, to be an open country, a country in which we try to improve the conditions of life for all our people regardless of where they come from.

Lawrence R. Ford, *Professor of Geography, San Diego State University*

Having seen the movie "All the President's Men," Professor Bustamante's paper seems more pertinent to me than it might otherwise. It seems that if government officials in authority say something long enough they begin to believe it, and then may be genuinely surprised when they find out it is not really the truth.

Since we do not know how many illegal immigrants there are, and since we have no way of getting these actual figures, perhaps we should concentrate on the process itself - the reasons for immigration and how it is carried out. For example, we might be studying the perceptions of Mexicans of the United States, what kinds of jobs they actually get when they come here, and what effect this has on our economy. It could be, for example, that the large number of illegal immigrants actually increase our prosperity, because these people may well be exploited. That is, they may be taking jobs that nobody else wants, working as domestics or gardeners, and therefore increasing the prosperity of those who can afford to hire such people. It might also be that many Americans would rather find more economic returns in getting some kind of welfare than in certain jobs that illegal immigrants take. This is nothing new. Boston at one time was 40 or 50 percent Irish. The reason so many Irish came was not only the push factor out of Ireland, but the fact that there were many menial jobs in New England that nobody else wanted and the Irish would take.

Perhaps we should talk about whether or not this kind of immigration should be legalized. At least then we would know what the figures were; we would be better able to judge the problem, if it is a problem, and understand the economic benefits and problems associated with it. This simply has not been discussed whether or not we should open up the country much more to Latin American immigration. As long as it is happening anyway, perhaps we would be able to study it better if it were legal. We have no studies to determine whether or not people actually benefit (from taxes and social security payments) as much as they could from paying these. It might actually be an economic benefit to the U.S. We simply do not know.

One thing that has not been discussed or studied very much, is the relationship

between Mexican policies encouraging growth along the American border and illegal immigration. And this seems to be an important part of any binational cooperation in this area. The policy statements or the remarks made by authorities with regard to illegal immigration have had an impact to be sure - but I think the impact is intensified when people look at the growth of Tijuana, for example. A lot of Americans, especially people in San Diego, hear that there are thousands and thousands of illegal immigrants. Then they look across the border and see that Tijuana is doubling in population every five or six years. They make an assumption that all these people crowding into Tijuana are simply waiting to get across the border. This, I think, is an invalid assumption.

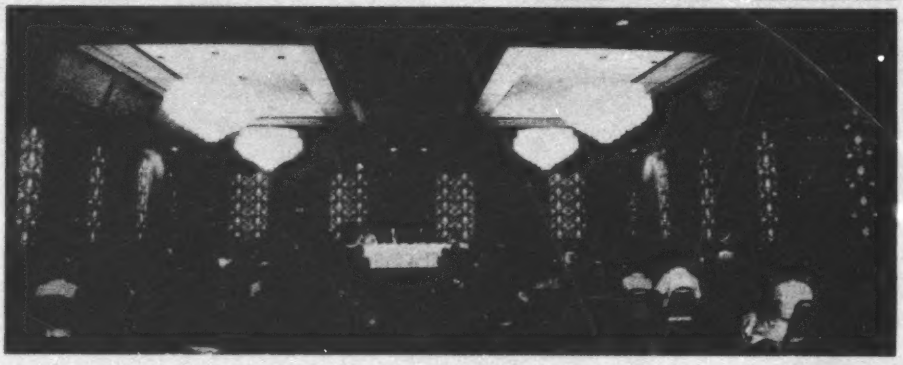
We have done extensive interviewing in Tijuana in various neighborhoods to find out why people came to Tijuana, as opposed to, say, Mexico City or Mexicali. We found a very high degree of satisfaction with Tijuana, a strong degree of kinship linkages - people were coming because their cousin had come before - plus a high inclination to get land, and to improve property and to stay in Tijuana.

So, I think it is a mistake to assume that all people coming to Tijuana intend to cross the border. We need to ask what kind of information we want to put into the public domain in order to clarify these problems, and to lessen the fear that Professor Bustamante has talked about - this nazism, White People's Party, etc.

Some of the studies we need should deal with where the illegal aliens come from. What percentage, for example, come from southern Mexico, Chiapas or Oaxaca, are transported by some mechanism and have the eventual goal of reaching Los Angeles or Chicago, versus the percentage that are Tijuana or Mexicali residents and then cross over casually. We need to understand whether the Tijuana-San Diego region is a staging area, or whether it just happens to be on the border and people are passing through - from southern Mexico or Guatemala or Honduras or wherever - on their way to anywhere in the United States. What role does San Diego-Tijuana play in this immigration problem?

We need to understand more about Tijuana, and more about border cities in general. And we need to communicate more with the Mexican government about their policies encouraging border growth. If we find that indeed there is a relationship between the burgeoning population centers on the border and illegal immigration, then maybe those policies are causing problems. However, if we find that illegal immigration is not associated with the border industrialization or border city growth, we might learn that such growth is indeed lessening illegal immigration because people have a prosperous alternative - a place where they can come, get jobs, obtain American goods, and live a prosperous life relative to what they were leading in southern Mexico. So we have to understand what the causes of this immigration are, the mechanisms for this immigration and the exact impact - rather than just concentrating on the numbers, which we obviously do not know.

THIS WAS THE SATURDAY SESSION



PLANNING FOR THE TIJUANA-SAN DIEGO REGION

by Arquitecto Fernando Sepúlveda Amor

An architect, Sepúlveda Amor currently serves as Director of Planning for the Under Secretary of Environmental Improvement in the Mexican Department of Health and Welfare. He has done postgraduate studies in England and France covering the fields of urban planning and design of new cities. He has been project director for extensive redevelopment projects in the central portion of his nation. He is also a professor of design at the National School of Architecture in Mexico City.

(Professor James D. Kitchen of San Diego State University, in introducing Arq. Sepúlveda Amor, stressed a focus on physical, demographic, and economic characteristics of San Diego-Tijuana in relation to future binational planning efforts.)

Background

My basic concern, in common with a lot of American and Mexican planners and academic people, is for the future of this area, and its environment, in respect to the planning. I will mention briefly now many of the physical characteristics of the area.

The two cities - placed in the Northwest in Mexico and the Southwest in the United States - form a region that was artificially divided by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. But this region has common geographic elements and a great economic and social interdependence. The region is situated in the flat plains of the coastal area north of the mountain chains called the Sierra de Júarez and San Pedro Mártir. The eastern and southern parts of the terrain are basically rough, and there is not much land area for settlement south of the border, since the flat portion is to the north towards San Diego Bay. The peninsula of Baja California was formed by separation of this area from the continent in very recent geological times. It is a province with various subprovinces integrated mainly by the mountain chain which is the spine of the peninsula. The Sonora Desert is irrigated by the Colorado River Delta. Vegetation is basically desert oriented with low trees, spiny bushes, cactus and grass.

We do not have much good soil in this area, and what soil we do have is very shallow - a result of erosion in the highlands deposited in the lowlands. The plains are very good for agriculture when there is water.

The climate is generally good, dry and temperate on the east, with winter rains, but not much precipitation. The low rainfall (about 270 millimeters per year) produces limited resources. In the mountain region the rainfall is greater and produces streams of water that feed into the Tijuana River whose riverbed is 25 percent in the U.S. and the remainder in the Mexican zone. The water from this river flows into the Rodriguez Dam located 17 kilometers south of Tijuana.

In the state of California the Barrett and Morena dams are located above the streams of Alamar, La Cocina and La Posta, which flow into Mexico to the Tijuana River. The size of these streams has been reduced markedly by the above-mentioned dams, a situation that leaves the Rodriguez Dam with a water level equal to 5.2

percent of its capacity and reduces the volume of water to one-sixth of the 23-year average - some 3.16 million cubic meters annually which flowed across the border into Mexico.

The riverbed of the Tijuana River, because it was almost dry, was settled for a time by migrants with low income. Basically they were squatters. In addition to the problem of poor housing there, we had a problem of human waste and resulting bacteriological pollution of the water. The main cause of such contamination is the lack of sanitary installations and the fact that 50 percent of the homes in Tijuana have some problem of this nature.

Our treatment plants are not able to treat all the sewage from an area where the water is a very high cost resource. The Secretary of Hydraulic Resources of Mexico currently has five different possible solutions, with varying costs, for treating the sewage. There is also a proposal to bring the sewage to a place along the border, within the United States, have the waters treated, then return part to Mexico and use the other part in the United States.

The open sea on the west is a cold water ocean with a current coming from Alaska. However, there are recreational beaches in this area, in San Diego and Tijuana. There is also Rosarito Beach and some small strips of sand below the cliffs on the way to Ensenada. And, of course, Ensenada is a large beach resort. We have some pollution problems there, including oil spills from large ships, and from industrial plants in the area. We also have refuse from the fish packing industry, and this gives a bad impression on some of the beaches.

The Human Element

The Tijuana-San Diego area population is now above two million people, and by the end of the century, there should be roughly five million inhabitants - with two million in the Tijuana area and three million for San Diego County.

Tijuana has 50 square kilometers of urban area, and expansion today is on the Otay Mesa area to the east of the downtown section. However, there is not much good land there for homes.

Tijuana is one of the most visited cities in the world, with 30 million registered crossings each year. Over 360,000 people register annually in Tijuana hotels. An average of six and one-half million vehicles cross the line annually in San Ysidro.

We have 1,075,000 automobiles in the area that contribute to air pollution. A million of these are from San Diego County, with one car for every one and one-half persons, as opposed to one automobile to every six inhabitants in Mexico. A survey made on Avenida Revolución in Tijuana two years ago indicated that 7.2 million vehicles crossed that spot in a year's time, and that 98 percent had U.S. plates.

Tourism is the main reason for going into Mexico, then comes shopping and business between the two cities.

A great problem today in all cities of the world is solid waste. In the case of Tijuana, this material is collected and deposited in an open field. There is a tendency now, however, to adopt a more scientific way of disposal. Tijuana residents produce about 481 tons a day. The San Diego area, on the other hand, produces 1,500 tons a day.

There is also a worry on the American side of possible pollution by radiation from nuclear power plants, and a concern because this is an earthquake area. Some

people think the security of these installations could be threatened by this seismic problem. And any spill of radiation on the area will also effect Mexico.

Conservation of Existing Environment

I want to stress here something that we think is very important: conservation of the natural environment. With the completion of the transpeninsula highway and increasing communication, many more people are going to Baja California, and there have been some problems with environmental conservation. I refer initially to wildlife preservation and some spoiling of the landscape by use of off-road vehicles in an area that is not yet restricted. In some areas, off-road vehicles are destroying vegetation that takes 50 years to grow - so that a weekend holiday now can ruin an area for the next half century. Civilization is also pressing in on the wildlife, and there are several species of marine and land creatures that are in danger of extinction from the pressure of man.

Some of the most serious complaints we have received refer to trash and solid waste deposited on beaches and in natural resource areas.

I am also concerned about erosion of the soil. This is not due to tourism, but to the cutting of or disappearance of vegetation which holds the soil. We need a large program for retaining the soil and water by way of dams and filtering barriers on the routes down from the mountains. A lack of obstacles along the way now allows torrential flows of water to carry the earth and vegetation into the ocean.

We also would like to preserve our cultural values. There is a large area of fossils in Baja California that is being raided for souvenirs. This really must be controlled, because losing a piece from the overall setting means a loss of scientific value since you no longer have the total pattern. I am thinking also of the mission areas. Treasure hunters and souvenir collectors, perhaps only for fun, have destroyed some of the remains. Interesting studies made by professors from the University of California show pictures of these missions as they were about 20 years ago and how they are today. In some places the structures have almost disappeared.

I know of a bell from a mission church down in Baja California that was found on a ranch in California. Can you imagine what it takes to transport such a bell a distance of several hundred kilometers?

I am also thinking of the rock painting caves that are scattered in the territory. Parts of this culture are also missing, since people are taking pieces of rock paintings.

A Program of Action

We have followed the program of Fronteras with great interest, because this is a way of coping with problems of the border. After the very fine work done by Professors Appleyard and Lynch on the San Diego region [a recent study entitled "Temporary Paradise?"], we think that some program should be put together between American and Mexican planning offices, in order to first have a basis of general information on what is happening in the area. We should also have common statistics - but not many because too many statistics cloud the mind. We already have the basic ones on hand. Perhaps the second step is to bring together experts from the government, with selected people from the community. We have to hear what people want and think should be done with cities and urban areas. We should also bring in specialists from the university. I think there is a very valuable resource from academic work that is sometimes going in a different direction from that of government agencies. If we put together the theory, the needs and expectations of the

people and decision makers we can get an idea of what we want and what should be done in this area.

A result of these two points, is that we really must get to work - and perhaps not with too many meetings. Some people think that the more meetings one has the more results there are. Perhaps it is the other way around. I think that we should have a basic technical meeting, and make a strong effort to accomplish results in a short length of time. We can continue studies afterwards, but first of all we have to start some work.

I have conferred with government officials here from the state, the county and the Comprehensive Planning Organization, and all of them have done very good work. This has been a fortunate opportunity for us, because in Mexico we have two or three agencies working separately - each one with their own point of view. They do not work together.

In concluding, I want to show some work we have started. These are low altitude aerial photographic studies of this area to show the basic information without being concerned with the border line, so we can see how nature constructed the whole region, and what we can do with it. We also have perhaps the first study using earth satellite photos and automatic photo interpretation. We also have a geomorphological study of the area - the actual use of land, the soil structure of the area. This is an ecologist's perspective of land use. But this does not necessarily mean that it will develop the way planners thought it should. Perhaps we can mix both approaches to get ecology, conservation and future development in harmony, and have a nice place to live in the next hundred years.

And, finally, we express our desire and ability to work with you to achieve some results as rapidly as possible. As Professor Appleyard and Professor Lynch expressed in their document ["Temporary Paradise?"], we are ready to be the Mexican Connection.

COMMENTS FROM THE SECOND PANEL

Donald Appleyard, *Professor, Department of City and Regional Planning, College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley*

The things that are going on in Mexico today are very exciting, and we are hearing their direct voice, their perceptions of the border situation. When we came down here to do the "Temporary Paradise?" study two years ago, it was difficult to get any idea of what was occurring on the other side of the border, to find people who had viewpoints. The few people we met were tremendously useful because they gave us a totally different view of what was going on.

We are in a very extraordinary situation, it seems to me, in San Diego and Tijuana because here one of the most affluent parts of the United States is existing in such close proximity to a third world country with quite different life styles, culture, and ways of going about things - both in planning and in just ordinary living.

It is worth remembering what a tough environmental situation Tijuana is in. Tijuana got the worst part of the deal, in a sense, when the border was drawn. They did not get the valley, their river is not theirs when it goes into the sea, and they have very little flat land. San Diego got it all; the bay, the harbor, access to the flat land, and access to the coast.

What is exciting at this moment is that on both sides of the border we are beginning to move away from hell-bent growth to look at ourselves and say, well now, where do we want to go?

There are difficulties in [joint] planning, and the environmental difficulties complicate it, because essentially we have two levels of a problem. Much of Tijuana is still concerned with essential environmental issues: sanitation, water, transit for people who do not have automobiles, buses, electricity, etc. Other planning issues include jobs and education.

At the same time, San Diego is much more concerned with environmental amenities. And this is an important issue in Tijuana too. From the point of tourism alone - which is probably their greatest source of income - it is important for Tijuana to spend money on its image, to attract tourists there, and for that matter to all of Baja California. At the same time its own middle class is emerging, and obviously wants a city with amenities.

How could we help across the border to improve environmental conditions? First of all, the southern California region has the water, and that important issue should be more in the public mind. There are new thoughts about using geyser-given natural steam power in the Imperial Valley. If the Imperial Valley develops on that power base, it could make a lot of difference across the border.

The Tia Juana River Valley is a tremendous resource. If we preserve it from development, it is a possible open space resource for the city of Tijuana - perhaps even more than it is for San Diegans - as a park or simply an open space.

Since the sewage problem in Tijuana is tremendously difficult, if any land could be made available in the Tia Juana River Valley for sewage treatment plants, that would be an important contribution.

The Otay Mesa area is planned for future development, with industry and

airports - plus the concept of moving San Diego's airport down there in order to attract industry to that region. This could be of great economic benefit to Tijuana and I think that this factor should be considered an issue in the location of the San Diego airport.

Beyond these specific thoughts, it seems to me that a bicultural focus of some kind will be important. It would be much better, for example, if this conference were being held on the border, or in Tijuana itself. I hope that we would not lose the audience if that were the case.

It is very easy when you do not know another city or another nation to create very simplistic myths about them. These tend to be either stigmatizing myths where everything is evil - and these people are trying to get us - or they are very romantic, idealistic myths. Reality is a much more complicated mixture of those things. One of the possible reasons that a great deal of vandalism is taking place in Baja California is because people visiting the area have a feeling that it is just another place; that nobody is looking; that there is no social control of us in Mexico. We do not have the respect for that landscape that we have for our own, just because it is a distant landscape. These misconceptions can be corrected by more newspaper and TV station reportage of what is going on in Tijuana and Mexico, so that our attitudes become more soundly based. We need to know that there are people over there who are in many ways like ourselves.

A typical example can be found in the history of planning, with the once common view that squatter developments were potential bases for revolution. The more recent interpretation is that such settlements are in fact filled with very stable, middle class, aspiring people. These people often do not get into those squatter settlements until they have been in the city for about ten years and have enough money to start building a house. Thus the social reality may be very different from what we see, if we do not know about it. As an example, looking the other way, I would like to see an overview from the Mexican side - one that is outside the future planning reports - of whether they think this place [San Diego] is a temporary paradise.

It is important to have some kind of cross-border citizen's organizations. You people here are a constituency for that relationship, and these meetings should not be left to die. A border citizen's group should begin to hold this type of meeting regularly.

I do not like the idea of an aid program between San Diego and Tijuana, but there could be a kind of mutual aid program that would seriously consider what things we owe to them, and maybe what things they owe to us.

James F. Gleason, *Urban Planner, Environmental Quality Division, City of San Diego*

A great deal of the quality of the life for citizens on each side of the border will be determined by how we utilize, preserve and enhance the natural resources. It will be very difficult, but possible, to make people aware of the commonality that we share in these resources, and the dependence that we have on one another because of their finite amount.

After establishing this awareness, we have to identify clearly the needs and

various priorities of all the people - on both sides of the border. Any plans must recognize the difference in priorities. As noted earlier, south of the border priorities are for employment, housing, and basic public services. This side of the border, the priorities may be on higher kinds of public services, recreational cultural amenities, aesthetic amenities, and so forth. There has to be a blending to achieve a good quality of life for people on both sides of the border.

Air is a finite environmental resource, and we do indeed share the same basin. In air quality, as in other areas, people on this side of the border are degrading the environment for people on the other side more than the other way around. The meteorological conditions are such that pollutants emitted from this side go across the border. While we have had improvements in air quality in recent years, because of technological controls, we still - by all projections - are not going to meet the federal air quality standards, despite fairly stringent control measures. While things are getting better on this side of the border, it is anticipated that because of the lack of controls, and the amount of pollutants dumped on the residents of Tijuana and to the south, their air quality problem will get worse.

Water is a more precious commodity south of the border than it is here, and more conservation measures are taken. Comparatively little of our water is used for domestic, commercial and industrial services in southern California, yet we share essentially the same water source. About two thirds of Tijuana's water to meet its current needs comes from local finite resources, and they have an expanding population. The economic impact of this will be apparent on both sides as the cost of energy to transport water becomes higher. The treaty with the Government of Mexico now provides water delivered free to Mexico. The only cost is for transportation - pumping the water - but that expense will increase alarmingly when the favorable utility rates which we now enjoy go up.

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency is funding a major effort to

determine how we can better maintain clean water, and clean water in this instance means water not contaminated by sewage. The Comprehensive Planning Organization is doing a major study on the subject and this seems to be a good opportunity to involve the needs of both sides of the border. I think reclamation has to be considered, particularly when we regard the limited water resource.

In land use and transportation, the Tia Juana River Valley and the Otay Mesa may be to Tijuana what Camp Pendleton is to San Diego: a buffer. The Tia Juana River Valley plan is now emerging and provides an opportunity for input on both sides of the border.

Another item is agriculture. The richest Mexican agricultural land near Tijuana is around Cantamar, a valley that has good soils and some water. The U.S. Tia Juana River Valley is fairly rich agriculturally. About three quarters of the watershed is carried from south of the border and deposited on this side. As we approach three and one-half to five million people on both sides, the food needs will increase sharply, and the opportunity for rich agricultural lands will be a significant future asset.

We have, therefore, a great deal to share, and a great opportunity to proceed.

James D. Kitchen, *Professor, San Diego State University*, Concluding Remarks

I want to comment about another meeting which I think will be interesting and useful in that it will deal with practical aspects of problems that have been discussed by our speakers here. This event, scheduled for the coming winter (1976-77), is sponsored by an organization known as the Border States Universities Consortium for Latin America and will be operating in this area in cooperation with Fronteras. The sponsoring organization, of which both San Diego State University and University of California, San Diego, are members, covers the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and the western portion of Texas. This workshop will deal with problems of cooperation on both sides of the border. The general topic will be the impact of urbanization on the border area.

LUNCHEON SESSION

Chester S. DeVore, *President of San Diego and Imperial Counties Community Colleges Association*

It is my pleasure to be able to launch the final part of this two-day Fronteras program.

The community college movement in California can truly be called a people's college movement. This educational system has an open door policy, and the colleges we are representing in this program currently have some 80,000 enrolled students. The major border concerns that we have recognized - such as environmental quality problems - have been discussed this morning, although we are perhaps more concerned with the people issues that exist along the border. We wish, on behalf of all the community colleges, to dedicate our commitment to serving with you people in finding some better quality of life for all of the citizens on both sides of the border in the future.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

by Eduardo Jiménez González

A senior Mexican diplomatic official, he is a former Fulbright scholar, currently serving as Ambassador to Norway. He has done special graduate study of the U.S. electoral process while at Johns Hopkins University in 1968. The ambassador was serving in Washington (as Counselor of Embassy) during the 1972 presidential campaign and had further opportunity to observe the U.S. election process at work. In 1972 he served as the Mexican Minister Counselor in Cologne, Germany. Lic. Jiménez González is also a specialist in international educational exchange programs.

(Manuel Vargas, Chairman of the Board, The San Diego Chicano Federation, introduced the Mexican ambassador to Norway, Eduardo Jiménez González. The former Fulbright scholar spoke on international education and - in answer to questions from the audience - commented on his government's attitude toward the illegal alien problem, U.S. business interests in Mexico and other topics. Following is a synopsis of that session.)

"I believe that the most important thing we can all do at the present time is to learn about other cultures, because in my opinion all the turmoil and conflicts between peoples are due to misunderstanding the point of view of those in other nations.".

The ambassador further believes that we should not only emphasize the results of international education by recognizing its scholars but should also work on practical projects. He cited Fronteras 1976 as an example. Communication, he declared, should also occur between society, community and municipal interests - together with specialists from universities.

With this in mind, those chosen to participate in international education programs, he said, should be people who are truly concerned with the political problems of the world, rather than - as sometimes happens - certain members of the upper class who are likely to use the experience solely to improve themselves without regard for the social needs and problems of the nations to which they are sent.

There is yet another level of responsibility.

The United States, he said, "is very powerful and wealthy - with only six percent of the population sharing some 48 percent of the world's wealth. You (in the U.S.) have a bigger responsibility in relation to the stability and development of the present international situation."

Turning from international education to national policy, he appealed for those in the United States to try to understand the Mexican situation. "We are very proud of our country. We consider it to be a nation with tremendous expression, personality, culture and humanistic tradition. Mexicans have a great respect for their history.

"Maybe we are different, and we approach life in a different way: we have another model for how to develop our land."

He noted that the president of Mexico recently created The Institute for the Study of the Third World. People from the underdeveloped nations will come to the

institute, he said, to learn about problems facing their countries. Primarily these deal with lack of food, population growth and preserving natural resources.

In reply to a question on how the Mexicans felt about the policy of U.S. enforcement agencies to transport apprehended illegal aliens back to Mexico - often to the interior of the nation - the ambassador deferred to Dr. Bustamante. He responded that transporting such people within Mexico against their will, "is against the constitutional rights of citizens in Mexico. The crime, he said, was a violation of United States laws, not those in Mexico. These people are not criminals in Mexico. There is, he said, an important segment of people in Mexico - both in the government and among the general public - that does not approve of the U.S. violating the constitutional rights of Mexicans within their own country.

The ambassador was asked about the new Universidad Metropolitana in Mexico. He reminded his audience that the National University of Mexico, with 100,000 students on one campus, is quite unwieldy. The purpose of the new university, he noted, is to decentralize the National University. The curricula will be about the same as in the existing institution, but classes will be smaller.

In reply to a question about U.S. firms investing in Mexico, Jiménez González replied that, "We have a new law for investments in Mexico. Sometimes in Washington they think that we are going to the left (politically) because we are giving land to the farmers and trying to create better conditions for our workers. I do not see any reason to be afraid of that happening because the present government has been saying openly that it does not have any expropriatory mentality. We do not want to expropriate; we want you to come to invest in Mexico to make profits there, but also to permit the people there to live a better life."

Dr. Iris W. Engstrand, Professor of History at the University of San Diego provided the closing remarks in Spanish and in English for the First Plenary Session of Fronteras 1976. She thanked Ambassador Jiménez González for his thought provoking contribution to the conference and invited all those present to return for the second plenary session in November. She noted that the next conference will emphasize the view of the border from the United States.

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